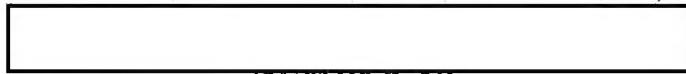


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NUMBER 60

17 August 1959

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Approved For Release 2007/03/03 : CIA-RDP78-03061A000100010015-5

118. The Question of Tibet and the Rule of Law

The 208-page report entitled "The Question of Tibet and the Rule of Law" compiled by the International Commission of Jurists (ICJ) was released 24 July and distributed to 30,000 ICJ world-wide members, affiliates, and press services. The report includes a preliminary study made by Dr. Purshottam Trikamdas, a prominent Indian attorney and former secretary to Gandhi, together with material from primary Tibetan and Indian sources and Chinese Communist documents collected by the ICJ Secretariat. The report includes a general description of Tibet, evidence of depredations committed by the Chinese People's Republic against Tibetans and the position of Tibet in international law. The report presents evidence that Communist China is guilty of violation of the CPR-Tibet 17-Point Agreement of 1951 and the UN Universal Declaration of Human Rights, and submits that there exists a prima facie case of genocide. On the basis of its findings the ICJ enjoins the humanitarian forces of the world to consider the record and to take such action as may be appropriate to insure that the Tibetan people receive help in their struggle for freedom and justice. The ICJ has communicated its findings to the United Nations and other interested international organizations and agencies. On 26 July the ICJ announced the composition of its "Legal Inquiry Committee on Tibet" which will continue the inquiries carried out by the ICJ Commission on Tibet. This Committee will continue to gather evidence on the question of Tibet with particular attention directed to the violation of human rights and the crime of genocide. There are presently eight prominent lawyers serving on this Committee, the majority of whom are Asians. (Your attention is called to Bi-Weekly Item 100, 6 July Guidance.)

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17 August 1959

~~SECRET~~119. Khrushchev, Marx and Economics (See Attachment)

The Soviet Union is beginning to recognize the archaic state of theoretical economics utilized by the GOSPLAN and taught by its universities. This follows in the wake of the two great decisions of practical economics: the decentralization of economy and the abolition of the Machine Tractor Stations. During the 21st Party Congress, attention was drawn to the need for improving the quality and increasing the quantity of economists. In December 1958 Radio Moscow explained that the struggle against revisionism and dogmatism had resulted in a better understanding of several theoretical problems of "Marxist-Leninist political economy" and indicated the need for a "basic revision of the text of the Handbook of Political Economy". During Prime Minister Macmillan's visit to the USSR, Khrushchev remarked that the anti-party group had used Marx in its defense of the Machine Tractor Stations, but that Marx had nothing to say about tractors which didn't even exist in his time. The two attached quotations indicate Khrushchev's relegation of theoretical Marxism to a secondary role. Following the 21st Party Congress, the USSR announced an intensive nation-wide survey of existing capital assets, the purpose of which might well be to gather data necessary for the revision of Soviet planning techniques. Western economists visiting the Soviet Union have found increasing interest in the use of Western mathematical techniques of economic analysis. Soviet economists have been criticized by their colleagues for failure to make use of new concepts. In all these facts we see a growing awareness that the tools of Western economics have a growing importance in the USSR. Inevitably as the Soviet economy becomes more complex there will be an increasing tendency to borrow economic theory and practice from the West. We expect this to lead to a de facto abandonment of Marx as a framework for economics. Lip-service to Marxist theory will continue and decisions which may appear contradictory will probably be justified by pointing to the differences in the "objective" factors between Marx's time and the present day.

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"Khrushchev, Marx and Economics"

1957 - Marxist "theory"

"If Marx, Engels and Lenin could arise now, they would laugh at those book-worms and quoters who instead of studying the life of contemporary society and developing theory creatively strive to find among the classics a quotation about how to act in connection with a machine tractor station in such and such raion.... One can even meet such economists who in speaking of wages in contemporary circumstance use examples given almost a hundred years ago by Marx in his famous "Capital." Of course there are not many such people, but lamentably one still does meet them. Such economists cannot give concrete examples from life because they do not know actual life. These are not theoreticians but parrots who have learned certain phrases and repeat them. Such theoretical work is not worth two pennies."

Khrushchev Speech to Central Committee - 29 June 1959

"One must not minimize the role of our theoreticians. But, comrades, under no circumstances must one minimize the role of other people, those who are forging our communist society. They are doing a big thing! One of the comrades here sent me a note: 'Comrade Khrushchev, why is it that everyone here speaks about industry and nobody speaks about party work?'"

"Dear comrade, if a factory where you are engaged in party work produces a faulty component while you are at that time delivering a lecture on the construction of communism in our country, (animation in the hall) wouldn't it be more useful if you were engaged in organizing people for scientific work of a higher standard? Party work means everyone doing his job, knowing his profession well, making good components, and assembling good machines. You, on the other hand, suggest that principal emphasis be placed on a lecture about the reasoning of a human being approximately a century after the victory of communism. This is, indeed, a splendid lecture, and please don't think I am against good lectures, but we can wait for such lectures and reports for another 50 or 80 years. (Laughter, applause) If, however, we produce faulty machines and inferior products we won't go very far."

121. Soviet Pressure on Iran

With the fall of the Mossadeq Government in 1953 and the adherence of Iran to the Baghdad Pact in 1955, the Iranian regime became firmly established as pro-Western. In fact, the Shah has expressed a desire to become Commander-in-Chief of the Baghdad Pact armed forces. In July 1958, following the London-Baghdad Pact meeting and within its context, discussions were held between the US and Iran on the possible conclusion of a bilateral pact between the two nations. Despite the hopes of the Shah, the US offer did not include either the additional military aid or the territorial guarantee which he wanted. Later, the Shah commenced negotiations with the Soviets. They stipulated that the Iranians should not sign any new pact with the US, especially since the Soviets believed their own propaganda to the effect that such signature would lead to the establishment of American bases in Iran. The Shah responded to these Soviet overtures, but the serious negotiations, which began in January 1959, broke down largely because of Soviet ineptness. Then followed the signature of the US-Iranian bilateral pact and there began a heavy barrage of Soviet propaganda, particularly virulent concerning the Shah himself. This has been conducted by Radio Moscow, a clandestine broadcasting station in the Soviet Caucasus ("The Voice of Free Iran") and Radio Leipzig Persian-language broadcasts. On 18 May "The Voice of Free Iran" called openly on Iranian soldiers to "turn the machine guns toward the chests of the enemies of Iran and toward the chests of the flunkies of foreigners" and to "kick out" the Shah and his advisers. Radio Moscow of February 19 predicted that "the fury and indignation of the Iranian people against the rotten and hated monarchy will, like a sweeping fire, reduce to ashes all abominations, egotism, and immorality which now prevent the prosperity of the Iranian people." The Shah has considered, but seems now to have abandoned, the idea of placing the issue before the United Nations. UN Secretary-General Hammerskjold told Secretary Herter in Geneva on July 16 that he had discussed the matter with Soviet Foreign Minister Gromyko. The latter said that the Soviet authorities are fully convinced that the agreement between Iran and the United States will inevitably lead to the establishment of American bases in Iran. He said that there was no use in conducting conversations with the Iranians unless the Soviet Union could be given some assurance that the Iranians would be more flexible than heretofore with respect to their so-called defense plans.

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17 August 1959

122. Communist Aggression in Laos

Communist efforts to maintain tension in Southeast Asia through the creation of border incidents and propaganda attacks on the Royal Lao Government (RLG) culminated late in July in armed intervention by Pathet Lao and other minority group forces. The direct action and initial propaganda phase of the immediate strategem to recall the International Control Commission (ICC) is being executed by the North Vietnam regime heavily supported by Peking and reinforced by diplomatic pressure from the USSR. The current military crisis followed the rebellion in May of one of the two Pathet Lao battalions which was to be integrated into the Royal Laotian Army (FAL) and which escaped to the North Vietnam border. Pathet Lao attacks were reported on FAL position in four provinces of northern Laos, two of which borders Communist China. These attacks were directed, coordinated in advance and executed at the order of the Viet Cong (Vietnamese Communist regime) although there is not yet positive proof that PAVN (Peoples Army of Vietnam) units as such engaged in fighting. (Note: The term Viet Cong is used rather than Vietminh which heretofore was used to designate the North Vietnam Communist movement.) Present Communist strategy is designed to regain lost bargaining power and to return to a position of strength which the Pathet Lao possessed prior to integration in the RLG and during the "reign" of the ICC which gave the Communists considerable influence in Laotian internal affairs. (Your attention is called to Bi-Weekly Guidances 34, 46, 85.)

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~~SECRET~~123. Communist Government in Kerala Ousted

17 August 1959

On July 31 the world's only freely-elected Communist Government - voted into office in the Indian elections of April 1957 - was ousted. India's President, in a constitutionally sanctioned move, dismissed the Communist Government of Kerala headed by E. M. S. Namboodiripad and ordered the Central Government, under "President's Rule," to govern the state and hold new elections there "as soon as possible." On June 29 the All-India Congress Party parliamentary board had issued a resolution which in effect sanctioned the agitation which succeeded in forcing the Kerala Communist Government to face new elections. It described the Kerala situation as one in which there was a "malaise in public life" and a "state of insecurity." It spoke of a "vast upsurge of public opinion and feeling against the present government" and said that it "seems obvious" that many who supported the Communists in the 1957 election have "changed over" and that it was a "legitimate presumption" that the Kerala Government "now in no way represents majority opinion." For a long time, prior to the July 31 decision, Prime Minister Nehru vacillated. He visited Kerala himself and saw Namboodiripad in Srima. It was not until just before the end of July that he made up his mind on the move and agreed to President Prasad's action. The Communists in India's lower "House of the People" reacted violently. They claimed that the Communist Party and its sympathizers were "being annihilated" in Kerala. Nehru himself was shouted down with cries of "You dirty murderer of Democracy." All the Communist members rose shouting and shaking their fists at the Government benches. (Note: Your attention is called to Bi-Weekly Guidance No. 97, 6 July 1959.)

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124. Khrushchev's Visit to the United States

Whatever the actual circumstances motivating the US invitation to Khrushchev, it successfully concludes a longstanding campaign by Khrushchev to have a personal meeting with Eisenhower. Khrushchev will arrive Sept. 15. His 10-day visit will include three days of "conversations" with Eisenhower, a tour of the US a la Mikoyan and Kozlov and an address to the United Nations. The tour gives Khrushchev a unique propaganda forum, since he will be accompanied by a host of newsmen who wittingly or otherwise will contribute to perpetuating the image of Khrushchev as a folksy man of the people. Of more concern to the US is the impact of the Eisenhower-Khrushchev talks. There probably will be no agenda, which will encourage speculation about the "inside story" of the talks. There undoubtedly will be a number of legitimate and other "leaks" to the press. The German question will be a major topic for discussion. Khrushchev at his Aug. 5 Moscow press conference said: "The German peace treaty of course is the question of questions -- the problem of problems. And Berlin is the Gordian knot that must be cut." Khrushchev reaffirmed the Soviet position that there should be a peace treaty with the two existing German states and that West Berlin should be made into a "free city." The Soviet Premier said he will consult but not meet personally with his allies prior to his Washington visit. Khrushchev might return to the USSR via Peking to attend Red China's 10th anniversary celebration on 1 October. The official US position is that we hope that the visit will create better US-USSR understanding and promote the cause of peace.

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17 August 1959

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The 7th World Youth Festival was held in Vienna from July 26 to August 4. This was the first time that it had been held outside the Iron Curtain. In taking this calculated risk the Communists hoped to achieve respectability for the Festival and its sponsors (principally the International Union of Students and the World Federation of Democratic Youth). They also wanted to avoid exposing their people to the disturbing Western influences present in Moscow in 1957 at the 6th Festival. About 15,000 persons about one-third from Communist countries, attended. The show probably cost at least \$25,000,000 but this is necessarily a guess and the Communists do not acknowledge any such expense. The theme of the Festival was "Peace and Friendship" but this was belied by events not planned by the organizers. Important target countries such as India and Burma were very poorly represented and Egypt and Ghana were not represented at all. No significant non-Communist international youth and student organizations were officially represented. The American delegation was split with the anti-Communists having a clear majority but being denied recognition by the Festival. The Austrian populace was cool to the Festival, Austrian youth and student organizations boycotted it and ran active operations against it, and Vienna newspapers gave the Festival the "blackout" treatment. A special Festival newspaper run by an anti-Communist Austrian was printed in 40,000 copies and 7 languages and distributed to delegates, despite vigorous and sometimes violent efforts to prevent such distribution Western newsmen were shoved around. The large Soviet and Chinese delegations refused to engage in free debate and adhered strictly to the party line.

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